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ABSTRACT

To determine how textbook publishers have changed the content of teachers' manuals designed to accompany basal reading series, a study was undertaken to examine manuals published by two different publishers since the 1920s. Ten fifth grade manuals were reviewed for physical characteristics, tests, number of stories, instructional suggestions, professional discussion on the teaching of reading, reports of current reading research, professional bibliography, student bibliography, scripting, story summaries, questions, answers, exercises, and scope and sequence. Results showed that the role of the teacher reflected in the earlier guides was of someone totally in control and capable of making decisions about how to teach. Teaching and reading were defined in professional, research based terms, and the philosophy underpinning the various series was clearly presented. By the 1960s, sections on research and on other topics had been moved to the back of the manuals, and had disappeared--along with professional bibliographies--by the 1970s. Also by the 1970s, the role of the teacher depicted in the manuals was of someone required to follow the teaching suggestions in the guide, keep students busy studying reading skills, and monitor their acquisition of those skills. In short, the manuals have taken teaching out of teaching and reading out of learning to read. (FL)

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Taking Teaching Out of Teaching and Reading Out of Learning to Read
A Historical Study of Reading Textbook Teachers Guides 1920-1980

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Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, April 1985.

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Overview

Thumbing through the modern reading basal one is amazed by its complexity and comprehensiveness. It seems that the publishers have taken everything into account; there are poems, plays, stories about families and animals, stories about ethnic groups, non-fiction selections ranging from tidal waves to police horses and the inevitable lessons teaching particular skills and the many exercises reinforcing them. Turning to the teachers guide that accompanies the pupil textbook the amazement one felt about the pupil text turns to dismay. The hardcover pupil text is transformed into a spiral bound book within a book; around the reduced pupil pages is a host of teaching suggestions, questions to be asked, activities to be undertaken, tests to be administered. Preceding these pages is a message to the teacher telling him or her how the unique features of the series and the particular method employed (usually some variant of teach, assess, reteach, enrich) fosters reading improvement. Then there are pages and pages of scope and sequence charts; charts for the skills covered by the whole series and charts for the specific textbook. Within these charts of reading skills (for example, typical for fifth grade texts, skills range from how to use a dictionary, finding the meaning of words through context, using the encyclopedia, and cross-referencing) there are symbols almost astrological in nature and almost as mystifying (a star for introducing a skill, an empty circle for skill reinforcement).

Additionally, the back of the guide may contain examples of class record sheets (cumulative and by year), individual record sheets (cumulative and by year), section tests (that may also be pretests), a bibliography and reduced facsimiles of the pupil text glossary.

Yet, while the sheer number of components that make up the reading basal produces a degree of admiration and wonder the dismay comes from the assumptions the guide makes about the teacher and the student. Take two examples; in the first skill sequence of the fifth grade text of a series produced by a well known publisher (Publisher A) in 1978 the enrichment exercise extends the skill of using context clues to identify the meaning of unknown vocabulary. The guide suggests that "capable pupils" make up words a Martian might use and the task is to find the meaning of the word from the sentence or context surrounding it. For example, "I brushed my teeth with peppermint *zzuxxl* and my toothbrush." A good exercise certainly and one sure to excite and interest children. But in this instance, just in case the teacher is not too good at deciphering vocabulary through context clues the guide provides the following information; "Allow pupils to trade word lists and try to guess what each other's Martian words mean from context clues. (In this case, *zzuxxl* is toothpaste)." (P.43). In this case it seems the editors and writers of the series can't be sure whether the teacher has mastered the skill he or she has been teaching.

As another example consider a story about a mound of garbage in Virginia Beach graded and seeded to make a man-made hill in an

otherwise flat area and named Mount Trashmore by local wits. The guide instructs the teacher to ask pupils about its height, the amount of trash it took to construct the hill and so on. However, nothing is said about the name and the pun on its more solid forebear, Mt. Rushmore. Too complicated for the pupils? One hesitates to think so knowing children's humor. Too difficult for the teacher to cope with? Perhaps, at least in the eyes of the editors and writers of this series.

These examples are striking and much as we would hope they were the most outrageous ones we could find in the teachers guide, they were not. The pervasiveness of these kind of examples and the seeming minimal, non-thoughtful role they implied for the teacher prompted us to investigate the way in which basal reading teachers guides have changed to reflect changing views of what reading is, how it can and should be taught and the differing perceptions of the teacher's role and competence. Indeed, it seemed hard to imagine the formidable teachers we had perhaps twenty, thirty or forty years ago needing or tolerating the lock-step, automaton approach that the methods and activities in the modern teachers guide implied. And it seemed disturbing that the many teachers we have observed using recent basal series were fearful of departing from an adherence to the lesson plan and the textbook's scope and sequence; an adherence Shannon (1982) attributed to the instructonal requirements of principals. Indeed, 77% of the teachers participating in the Shannon study reported that they *would not* be allowed to teach reading without basal workbooks and worksheets. It seemed as if the modern basal implied that the teacher's role was one of administrator of the numerous tasks the manual required be done seriatim.

Looking at the modern basal we were struck by its over-design. Its attempt to provide a fool-proof way of teaching reading seemed to result in a diminution of the discretion, expertise and competence that has in the past characterized teaching and instead emphasized the administrative, non-teaching and non-professional role of the teacher. Looking at these materials it seemed that the over designed basal and its teachers guide represented a metaphor of the decline in trust and confidence in teachers and a concommitant increase in confidence in the efficacy of the technology of the textbook. What seemed clear was that these manuals were more than safety nets, for the term safety net implies that the manuals exist to catch or help those teachers who fall or fail. Rather, in some sense these teachers guides were the teacher.

Clearly, to extrapolate from this impressionistic experience is hardly fair. How do we know that the teachers manual we looked at was representative of current materials and that teachers guides haven't always been like the ones in current use. With these questions in mind we undertook a study of the teachers manuals that accompanied different editions of reading basal series published since the 1920s.

The materials were analyzed and, as we will later show, reveal a move from encouraging extensive student reading geared to pre-adolescent interests and reading correlated with other areas of the curriculum to an emphasis on skill acquisition. The analysis also revealed a declining emphasis on oral reading; it was not until the 1960s editions that oral reading became a minor part of the reading program. The contrast between the modern basal teachers guide and those

preceding it was striking; the guides of the 1920s and earlier contained few teaching suggestions and occasionally included exercises and suggestions for motivating a story. The guides of the 1930s and later usually contained a long discussion of the reading philosophy and approach underpinning the series as well as general lesson suggestions. Such discussions disappeared in the 1970 editions. Extensive bibliographies were also a feature of these manuals, but also disappeared by the 1970s. Teaching suggestions changed from the very general to the specific; by the 1960s teachers could expect to find a detailed script for their teaching (in some cases the manual went as far as including such instructions to the teacher as "say..."). In addition, it appeared that teachers were not expected to read the story or non-fiction selections as a summary (sometimes hopelessly inaccurate) was provided for them. By the 1960s every question was accompanied by an answer even if that answer was an obvious one. As teaching reading came to mean the acquisition of numerous discrete skills, reading as defined as the acquisition of broad general skills disappeared. It seemed that the act of reading became a subordinate part of the reading process. The number of stories or selections in readers did not change significantly over the decades. What changed was what children were supposed to do between reading these stories; in the earlier manuals, suggestions centered on providing opportunities for independent and correlated reading; in later manuals time was taken up with exercises in fine tuning and reinforcing discrete 'reading' skills. Also notable was the development of the concept of scope and sequence from the listing of a few key skills to the development of pages and pages of tables indicating the placement of hundreds of skills. By the 1970s testing had become an integral and important part of the manual.

Introduction

For many years researchers, administrators and educators have taken the textbook for granted. As something everyone has experienced from his or her early school days -- an experience shared by their parents, grandparents and teachers -- there has been a comfortable cultural familiarity and authority about the textbook. For many, the textbook is non-problematic and although there has been some research on textbooks, for the most part, apart from a spate of reports on the treatment of women and minorities in texts in the 1960s and early 1970s (see Schnell & Sweeney, 1975, and Shirreffs, 1975), textbooks have been considered effective instruments of instruction. According to many researchers of school effectiveness it was not the textbook that was the cause of poor instruction and low student achievement (for textbooks were rarely, if ever mentioned), but rather poor administrators and poor teachers. Indeed, the "school improvement" research literature (Mann & Lawrence, 1981; Edmonds, 1979; Brookover & Lezotte, 1979) emphasized such things as school climate, principal leadership, effective discipline and the improvement of teaching technique. No reference was made or any significance given to research findings that indicated that between 90-95% of instructional time is structured by some kind of instructional material (EPIE, 1976; Frymier, Davis & Clinefelter, 1977; McCutcheon, 1982; Stake & Easley, 1979; Cahan et al. 1984; Shannon, 1982).

Until recently little was known about the degree of dependence on instructional materials in classrooms (EPIE, 1976) or about how textbooks were written, how authors selected, the role of editors and design staff, the effect of state adoption, and the concentration of textbook publishing into fewer and fewer companies (Bowler, 1978, 1976, 1976; Bragdon, 1978; Broudy, 1975; Edgerton, 1969; Reid, 1969; and EPIE, 1970). However, with the publication of the National Commission on Excellence in Education's report (1983), the initiatives for textbook improvement undertaken by the California Department of Education (Trombley, 1982), and the publication of research on reading instruction and the effectiveness of basal readers by the University of Illinois' Center for the Study of Reading (see Anderson, Osborn, & Tierney, 1984) the textbook has finally come to be seen as problematic and more research is being carried out in this area (Woodward & Elliott, 1984; Elliott, Carter Nagel, & Woodward, 1985; Woodward & Berger, in press; Bernstein, 1985; Farr & Tulley, 1985).

The results of current research provides increasing insight into the quality of textbooks' instructional design, their 'considerateness,' and the adequacy, currency and accuracy of subject content in textbooks. Yet, while the student textbook is undergoing intense scrutiny and is being criticized as an learning tool little work has been done that investigates the role of the teacher and the success of that teacher's teaching in relation to the quality and design of the textbook. For if teachers rely on instructional materials to structure their teaching -- and the students' learning -- then ineffective or effective textbook design will have an important impact on student school success. By looking at the teachers guides that accompany textbooks it is possible to infer the expectations publishers and educators had at any one time of the nature and approach to learning to read, the elements considered essential to include in a reading series, and the competence and role of the teacher.

In the work of Chall (1977) and Durkin (1984) we find two of the few examples of research on the effect of teachers guides on reading instruction. Chall's analysis of reading and other subject teachers guides and textbooks published over several decades and Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores of cohorts of students who would have used those texts, showed a correlational relationship between declining SAT scores and the kind of teaching suggestions found in teachers guides. When these guides suggested that the teacher ask numerous questions during and after the reading selection (these questions were usually factual recall rather than questions that encouraged higher order thinking), Chall found that pupils simply had less and less time to read. Thus, given that children had less and less time to read in the reading lesson, they had less reading practice and hence fared poorly when their reading achievement was measured by the SAT. Conversely, Chall found that when teachers guides devoted more time to reading and less to questioning, children read more and showed improved performance on the SAT.

Allington (1980) in his study of reading instruction found that less able pupils in a classroom had less time to read than pupils who were able readers. These less able pupils experienced many interruptions during their reading and were asked more questions, more often than their able peers. Questions tended to be factual rather than

comprehension based. Although Allington did not directly address the role of the textbook and teachers guide in contributing to the non-reading activities of poor readers it could be inferred from the research he reported that the teachers guide and textbooks influenced the amount of time children had to read. Indeed, our analysis of the reading lessons from manuals published in the 1970s indicated that a clear distinction was made between able readers and less able readers; in the case of the Publisher A (1978) manual teachers were told to let able pupils read the whole story selection without interruption. Less able pupils were to read just half of the story selection before the teacher was to ask basically factual questions about the story, pupils would then continue reading the story and then be asked mainly factual questions about it.

Durkin (1984) looked at the relationship between the basal reading teachers manual and the teaching of reading comprehension. She found that as a consequence of teachers closely following the teachers guide pupils spent the vast majority of the reading lesson engaged in non-reading, non-comprehension activities such as filling in worksheets.

Clearly, there is little problem in teachers consulting a teachers guide. However, there is a problem when successful teaching is defined as the total, some would say slavish, implementation of all the suggestions that the modern teachers guide contains. The result is that teacher discretion is discouraged as the manuals provide for every contingency. For the exceptional teacher there is little problem in implementing the program outlined by the manual; the cost, in certain cases, is the creativity and spontaneity of teaching. For the less exceptional teacher these modern manuals seem to encourage an excessive dependency.

Identifying and Analyzing Reading Basal Teaching Guides

Identifying the teachers guides to be used in this study was a difficult and time consuming task. Initially, we had hoped to analyze teachers manuals that accompanied the fourth and sixth grade reading textbooks published in the 1900s and then every decade thereafter. This proved impossible, for even the impressive textbook collection at Teachers College, Columbia University yielded a disappointing crop; sometimes only the pupil textbooks were in the collection, at other times manuals for certain grades were missing. What we were faced with was using a collection of textbooks that had been actively used over the years and by 1985 showed signs of wear and tear and attrition. In the end we were forced to concentrate only on fifth grade teacher manuals (Table 1) and only those published after 1920.

Insert Table 1 about here

Although we sought to analyze teachers guides from reading basals published in each decade after 1920 this was sometimes impossible. In some cases teachers manuals were missing, in others publishing companies did not change their materials. In the end we identified the teaching manuals from two, long-lived publishing companies that had published reading textbooks from the 1920s to the present. As we were only able to analyze the series from two publishers we felt it unfair to name them, hence we refer to them as Publisher or Series A and Publisher or Series B. It should be noted that in the process of narrowing down our textbook sample we studied texts produced by many publishers. The findings we report for the manuals of the two publishers we studied seem to be mirrored in the teachers manuals produced by other publishers.

Ten fifth grade teachers manuals were analyzed. The early manuals were sometimes independent of the pupil textbook and where it was important to do so the pupil text was obtained and analyzed. In most cases the pupil text was, in some fashion, incorporated into the manual either as preceding or following the manual itself or in the form of reduced pupil text pages surrounded by teachers guide instructions (a phenomenon of the 1970s). As a rule every sixth chapter, story or lesson was analyzed, although we soon discovered that the method and technique suggested in the manual in the earlier sections or lessons was repeated throughout the text.

Each manual was analyzed for physical characteristics, tests, number of stories, number of poems, instructional suggestions, professional discussion on the teaching of reading, reports of current reading research, professional bibliography, student bibliography, scripting, story summaries, questions, answers, exercises and scope and sequence.

Findings

As we analyzed the many teachers guides making up our sample we were impressed by the changes in the physical characteristics of these materials. In the early 1900s and 1920s teachers guides were separate books that more often than not refered to textbook story selections but did not reproduce them. These manuals were often slim affairs containing the barest of instructional suggestions, and emphasized philosophy and approach. Sometimes these manuals covered several grades. By the 1940s all manuals were hard cover and all contained the reproduced pupil text either at the front of the book or at the back of it. In the case of one manual the teachers guide pages were printed in deep yellow and were followed by the pupil text; in the next edition the guide pages were printed on pale yellow paper and followed the pupil text. By the 1960s the teachers guides were

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full-color affairs, hard cover bound and heavy. By the 1970s the teachers guides were transformed into spiral bound soft cover books containing reduced pupil text pages that were surrounded by lesson plans, exercises and teaching suggestions. In one case (not part of the sample) we discovered a novel teachers guide; it was hard cover and contained the teaching suggestions and lesson plans directly above the pupil pages. However, although the text and guide were bound together, because the pages were cut horizontally between the guide and the pupil pages it was possible to simultaneously turn to different pages of the manual and pupil text.

In most cases reading basals underwent major design changes every two or three decades. In the early years each series was usually authored by one or two people. In the 1930s one found the inclusion of a 'contributing author' from, for example, Texas (no doubt recognizing the power Texas exercised as a major adoption state) and sometimes an author whose contribution was limited to helping write the teachers guide. In the 1950s there might be as many as four authors. However, by the 1970s Publisher A's series boasted five program authors, two book authors and an instructional consultant. The 1976 series of Publisher B was authored by three people with the aid of five consultants, one each for evaluation, readability, language, linguistics and creativity.

Looking through the the teachers guides it was clear that from the 1920s until the 1960s the philosophy underpinning the reading basals was the importance of encouraging pupils to read and read more. By the 1930s and 1940s authors began to cite research findings to support the inclusion of 'theme' or interest units that would stimulate pupil reading both in the reading lesson and at home. Also important was correlating reading with other subject areas. The 1950s manuals reflected the passing interest in what we would call the "mental hygiene" or "social adjustment" movement of that period (which was also reflected in such subjects as social studies). By the 1960s guides also began to give more emphasis to the acquisition of skills. By the 1970s the basal reader was self-contained and predominantly skill based.

According to the 1923 Publisher B teachers guide the reader "...was primarily a storybook or a collection of the best stories in prose or verse." (P.1). These stories were arranged around themes such as heroism and adventure, animals, aeronautics and the World War and the stories would stimulate "...the child's love of adventure" or "take note of the child's awakening to the realities of life and lead him to large enterprises..."(P.1). For the authors of Publisher A's 1923 series encouraging the reading of good literature was paramount. For "the love of good books is the chain which binds man to the stars" and "no lesson affords greater opportunity for teaching a child what to admire, for setting ideals before him, and for cultivating pure tastes, than does the reading lesson." (P.426). Indeed the beneficial effects on developing a child's character through reading literature was emphasized over and over again. Like Publisher B stories were grouped around themes, for example, adventure, country life etc. It was assumed that most children would read far more than the stories contained in the textbook, although no student bibliography was provided.

The fifth grade manual of Publisher A's series (1933) noted that older

reading textbooks emphasized a rigid skill approach in which content values were rarely emphasized (in our study we did not find this to be so in the case of the 1920s readers). The authors noted the recent advocacy of the enriched reading period in which different types of reading (for example, reading for pleasure or for knowledge) were emphasized, the use of extensive supplementary materials, the need to encourage independent reading, and the organization of reading materials into interest units. A student bibliography of 98 books was listed.

The 1937 manual of Publisher B, although not claiming to break with past practice, echoed Publisher A's theme. But unlike Publisher B's 1923 series it was more specific about the series' approach to reading: "Children should read more widely in these grades, think more actively while reading, and refine habits already developed." (P.1). "Children's experiences should be greatly enriched by the wide reading that should be accomplished in these grades, and wholesome interests, standards, and tastes for reading should be advanced." (P.1). The authors' cautioned that "No attempt should be made to isolate any habit or skill nor to provide separate training for its development. As children engage in reading to satisfy various needs, attitudes, habits and skills appear to develop organically." (P.21). Like the 1923 Publisher B series the selections were grouped around interest themes but unlike its antecendent were based on an extensive research study (conducted at Teachers College, Columbia University) of 50,000 pupils and 1500 teachers to find out "scientifically a prose content for basal readers that would be both interesting from the point of view of children and worth while when measured by adult standards." (P.x). The result was a "rich" and "varied" reading experience that helped develop "strong wholesome motives for reading" as well as rapid growth in habits of intelligent interpretation." (P.2). In addition to the story selections a bibliography of 50 student library books was listed.

Publisher A's 1944 reading manual emphasized the importance of developing a flexible reading program that would include the basic readers, extensive free reading, and special group or individual reading. "Throughout the middle grades reading should become an increasingly valuable means of enriching children's experiences, satisfying their interests and curiosities, and stabilizing their personalities." (P.7). The authors noted that because most basal series contained between 35 to 40 stories, most of which could be read in a class period the rest of the time was to be spent in extension and library reading activities. The manual contained a student bibliography of 128 volumes. As in other series the story themes were to be a springboard to sparking pupils' interests in additional reading around a particular theme. One story would create a "demand" to read the next one and would whet pupil appetites for independent reading.

By the 1950s both the Publisher B (1956) guide and the Publisher A (1956) guide emphasized extended, independent reading and the then popular "mental hygiene" concerns about pupils. According to Publisher B (1956) "A basic reading series in the elementary school provides, for all children, a complete program of development of fundamental reading habits, skills and attitudes. It supplies content, invites comparison, stimulates criticism, evokes enjoyment, and kindles inspiration." (P.3). In addition, the series served "as

an important means of growth in wholesome personality," provides "opportunities for desirable growth in mental, emotional, and social ways," helped develop "a balanced personality," and encouraged the development of "ideas and attitudes associated with worthy citizenship and ethical character" through student exposure to good literature. However, the concern to encourage healthy social, moral and intellectual development was to be encouraged through "meaningful reading rather than verbalism, a desire to share enjoyable reading materials with others..." (P.6). Because pupil interest and motivation played a great part in stimulating their reading, stories were grouped around interest themes. As the authors stated, "research studies show that opportunities to read widely in varied types of materials strengthen and enlarge the child's recognition and meaning vocabularies. Accordingly, this Manual contains literally hundreds of suggestions for extending the reading activities of children..." (P.19). Two hundred student library books were listed in the bibliography.

According to the Publisher A's (1956) manual a prerequisite for effective reading instruction was the need to examine the child's physical well-being and emotional problems. In the case of Janet (the manual contains a line drawing of a pathetic looking girl):

> Janet is unpopular. Her posture is poor, and her clothes are untidy. The girls whom she most admires never include her ... she takes refuge in daydreams and seldom speaks unless spoken to.
>
> The thoughts and feelings of preadolescent boys and girls may be embroiled in any number of emotional situations, which set up psychological blocks to learning in the classroom. The causes of such blocks may be hard to discover, especially if they go back into the child's preschool life. P.7.

Having dealt with these "mental hygiene" issues, the manual turned to the philosphy underpinning the series. A major goal of the series was to develop "basic interpretive skills and the basic understandings of language." (P.12.). Also vital was the encouragement of "wide independent reading for every child - to develop children who can read and who do read because they like to." (P.13). To this end story selections were grouped around themes to appeal to the major interests of "pre-teens":

> As concepts and generalizations that are common to any given unit become apparent to boys and girls, added meaning, purpose, and motivation are given to their reading. They develop an inner drive to seek materials that satisfy their growing interest in some aspect of the general unit theme. A strong motive for personal reading will have been established - personal reading for which a background of basic concepts, generalizations and interests has been systematically developed. (P.31).

A bibliography containing 88 student library books was included. The inclusion of stories about famous people was "of great importance ... (in) the contribution that biography makes to molding character and arousing new hopes and ambitions....Through reading and discussing these selections, boys and girls become aware of the inner drives and personal qualities that lead to success, regardless of the time in history, the field of endeavor, or the way in which a person

eventually comes to fame." (P.17).

With a sense of urgency Publisher B's 1966 reading manual noted that reading was one of the "most urgent and crucial tasks of a lifetime...Failure in reading may handicap an individual's work in school as well as his total adjustment. "P. 3). Refering to reading research the authors noted that the program represented a developmental program that contained "carefully structured sequences" (gone was the advocacy in earlier manuals that teachers could use their own judgement about the sequence of reading the stories and completing the activities). The reader was, however, still based on fostering reading through student interests and motivations: "research studies show that opportunities to read widely in varied types of materials strengthen and enlarge the child's recognition of meaning vocabularies. Accordingly, this manual contains literally hundreds of suggestions for extending the reading activities of the children." (P.17). One of the best tests of the success of the program, according to the manual was the extent to which students went to the library table or bookshelf during their free time. Two hundred student library books were listed in the bibliography. However, while recognizing the need for supplementary reading and library work, the manual contained an extensive description of the ten vertical strands of the program and how the text covered each one. It was also with this series that ever more complex skill indexes were printed.

Insert Tables 2 and 3 about here

Like the previous editions of Publisher A readers the 1965 manual continued to emphasize the importance of stories and themes that would motivate and excite pupils. Encouraging extended and independent reading was emphasized, as it was in previous manuals; teachers were asked to collect together supplementary materials such as books, maps, and encyclopedias. A student bibliography containing 121 books was included in the manual. However, the 1965 manual contained a notable innovation which may have augured the development of the basal reader as a self-sufficient textbook -> an almost book-length story about the early life of Helen Keller. But what was notable about this manual was the incredibly complex model it used to explain the place and role of reading in the curriculum. Thus, reading was part of the wider language arts program; this seemed a reasonable assertion, but we were overwhelmed by an illustraton of the model depicting this relationship that contained numerous blue and black arrows, some pointing inwards, some outwards and some all mixed up.

When we analyzed the 1970s manuals (Publisher A, 1978; Publisher B, 1976) student bibliographies had disappeared (in some cases there were occasional citations after story selections and in the case of Publisher B bibliographies were printed on note cards to be updated annually) and professional bibliographies (a phenomenon of the 1940s through 1960s) disappeared totally from Publisher B's manual and had

declined to six citations in the Publisher A's book. Gone also were references to students interests, and extended and independent reading. In their place were pages of scope and sequence charts, tests, record keeping devices, descriptions of the program and various flow charts. For Publisher B 1976 reading was decoding, comprehending, critically evaluating, and using ideas. Each text was based on seven vertical skill strands. According to the authors "(this series) offers a strikingly effective combination of student and teacher materials ... For the teacher, (this series) provides tools that make it easy to teach and to keep track of important learnings. For the child, (this series) provides materials that make learning a delightful and rewarding experience." (P.T8). The program was an ideal tool for the teacher "its all-inclusive Teachers Edition give the teacher everything necessary to plan and provide instruction for the pupils." (P.T9). The stories selected "will enable pupils to gain rewarding experiences in meeting other people and in exploring different worlds, and at the same time stimulate them to discover fresh new horizons of thought and to dream new dreams." (P.T32).

According to the manual there were four major purposes underpinning Publisher A's (1978) series: the identification of words, comprehension of literal and implied meanings of words, phrases and sentences, the ability to study effectively, and developing an interest and love for reading. For the average student the program provided thorough and continuous practice in essential reading skills "and frequent opportunities to apply these skills in realistic reading situations." (P.7). For the below average reader the program provided "carefully paced" instruction, and "frequent reteaching." For above average readers who "require little or no guidance in reading and comprehension...they have more time to devote to independent reading..." (P.7). However, the manual only recommended the program "Bonus" and "Gold Medal Selections" that were occasionally scattered through the text. It seems that library reading simply was not an option. Also, as we discuss below the magazine format of this series' selections made it unlikely that any students would be particularly fired up and motivated to read more.

As noted above, the division of the reading textbook into units emphasizing certain themes was a common feature of basals from the 1920s. This feature was abandoned by Publisher A in its 1978 edition. But prior to that with each succeeding edition unit themes became more abstract. For example, the themes of the 1956 edition; Young Citizens of Other Lands, The Great Outdoors, Famous Peoples of Other Days and Old Tales were transformed in the 1965 edition to Thresholds, Frontiers, Conquests, Profiles and Kaleidoscope. This was also the case for Publisher B themes; in the 1956 edition featured such theme titles as Round About America, When Roads Led West, Great Old Days, In the Face of Danger. In the 1976 edition these titles were Setting the Pace, Where Do Stories Come From?, Everywhere Tales, When the World Was Young, and Under One Sun.

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Insert Tables 4 and 5 about here

Perhaps one of the most irksome tasks of reading these teachers guides was the guides' insistence on having students read the cover and title page and try and extract meaning and significance from them. In the case of Publisher A's (1965) Vistas students were asked to study the word Vistas and look at the book cover (an abstract of sea, land, mountains, sky and birds, but with its red toned cover impossible to decipher unless one already knew what it was). However, teachers were told to "develop the inference that (Vista's) will broaden pupil's knowledge. They will learn not only about living beings and their natural surroundings but also about the ideas and values that can make life a wonderful experience." (P.22). In terms of the cover pupils should "readily point out features of the physical world...They might also note that the horizontal sweep of sea, land, and sky and the rightward lean of the design and title lead the reader into the book." (P.23). In the case of Publisher B's 1976 Tell Me How the Sun Rose textbook teachers were told that "in discussing the title, mention that the same sun rises on all lands and for all people of the world. It is one of the great forces of nature that is shared by all people on Earth. It binds us together." (P.T35).

From our analysis it was clear that the manuals were subject to passing emphases. In the case of an emphasis on "mental hygiene" concerns this was quite short lived, with its beginnings noted in the 1940s materials, a major emphasis in 1950s editions and, again a minor emphasis in the 1960s and no emphasis in the 1970s manuals. Such was not the case with oral reading; all the manuals except the most recent contained a discussion about oral reading. The earlier manuals devoted a considerable amount of space to explaining why oral reading was important, types of oral reading and the procedures a teacher could use to encourage good oral reading (we cringed at the persistent suggestion that fellow pupils critique the oral reading efforts of the unlucky reader). However, this emphasis declined with the passing of each decade and was to totally disappear in the 1970s.

If we try to construct a typical lesson as reflected in each teachers guide for each period we can get a good sense of the degree of discretion and independence accorded the teacher as well as the kind of suggestions and resources available to help him or her teach. In the early manuals suggestions were general. For example, in the case of the 1923 Publisher A manual various lesson objectives were listed from which the teacher could choose -- suumarizing paragraphs in single sentences, making an outline, rapid silent reading, forming mental pictures etc. The first story in the text "Turk, The Faithful Dog" was used to illustrate how teachers might handle a lesson. The manual noted that the teacher should be well prepared, have a thorough knowledge of the story in order to develop "ethical and artistic possibilities from the literature studied." (P.434). Several questions followed each story and it was suggested that the teacher ask factual questions first and ones on general interest topics, for example, "Turk seemed to understand what his master said to him; do you think that dogs understand human speech? Give reasons for your

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answer." (P.437). Various resources about dogs were detailed and many additional activities were suggested. The manual suggested that "quick pupils" be allowed to read silently. Each section or theme unit contained a "Forward Look" and "Backward Look." In the forward look on nature for example it was suggested that the teacher use Helen Keller's book to help pupils more carefully "perceive nature." Generally, the manual contained a brief commentary on each story with hints for how to excite children about it and activities to undertake, and where to obtain additional materials. For the nature unit the manual suggests pupils take a "bird walk," make lists of local birds, contact the ASPCA and discuss such topics as "Why it is wrong to rob bird's nests." (P.449).

As in the case of Publisher A, the Publisher B guide of 1923 also contained a model lesson plan: a general aim was listed ("To have pupils form the habit of reading and to interest them in reading the stories of authors." P.17) and a specific aim ("To interest the pupils in stories of adventures: to have them read 'Kit Carson and the Bears' with fluency and enjoyment..." P.17). Using a number of "thought questions" suggestions were made for motivating the story and guiding pupils' silent reading and correct interpretation. Following the story were exercises dealing with specific aspects of language or grammar. Special emphasis was placed on relating reading activities to other subjects.

By the 1930s more attention was given to helping the teacher motivate or excite children about the story to be read. As the reading programs began to emphasize the use of interest themes, time was taken to discuss how to encourage interest in the general theme to be studied and to stimulate pupils to want to read more and more about the topic. In the case of the unit on travel and communications, general objectives were stated ("to create a feeling of nearness and interdependence of communities and nations as a result of improved means of communication). On-going projects were suggested such as finding out about modern explorers (this was a period of great exploits by aviators and explorers). All suggestions were quite general in that they involved the teacher finding out information and thinking about questions to ask and activities to undertake. Pupils were to silently read each story all the way through, then read it through again answering a number of questions. At this point manuals also began to suggest the use of tests although not with the frequency or rigor characteristic of later guides. The manual accompanying the Publisher B 1937 series contained a limited number of model lessons and cautioned that "before the reading period the teacher herself should prepare the reading lesson. She must know what her goal is, and she must have a plan for handling the story. Hit-or-miss handling of a lesson rarely brings satisfactory results." (P.35). Each selection was preceded by a paragraph containing a few suggested questions to interest pupils. Silent reading was to be encouraged and after the story was read a discussion held about some aspect of it: questions would follow. As in other manuals no answers to the questions were printed. Then would come a section on word study and follow-up work such as the dramatization of a particular part of the story and activities that related to other subject areas. Apart from the model lesson plans which delved quite deeply into the method of teaching a story the remaining selections simply contained lesson objectives such as 'to satisfy curiousity.'

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By the 1950s the lesson suggestions in the teachers guides tended to follow the same pattern. In the case of Publisher A (1956) each lesson plan was preceded by a list of new words and story summary that contained editorial comment such as "youngsters will agree that the surprise at the end is perfect and well worth waiting for. They will agree too, when they come to compare the story setting and the characters' way of life with settings and ways of life in the United States, that there are more likenesses than differences." (P.38). In this case is seemed that the teachers job was, given the general 'theme', to infer the questions to ask the pupils. As in other instances much emphasis was given to establishing the story motivation. However, unlike previous editions of teachers guides the teacher was to interrupt the reading of the story three times to asked very specific questions and following the reading of the story additional questions (all listed) were to be asked to extended pupils' understanding of the story. Scripting of the teacher's comments was a common feature. Additional skill activities such as working with punctuation marks were always embedded in events and characters from the story.

Publisher B's 1956 manual continued to advocate that students read the whole story. Each selection was accompanied by a very short story summary and suggestions (in the form of a script) for teachers to motivate interest in reading the story. Following the reading and interpretation of the story there was a vocabulary building exercise and comprehension and study skill exercises, all used examples from the story. Suggestions were then given for language and speech activities and enrichment activities involving social studies and other subjects. The manual drew a nice distinction between the different functions of factual and 'thought' questions: factual questions (the usefulness of which had been completely scorned by Publisher A, 1943) enabled the teacher to determine the pupils' level of understanding, and in the case of "inaccurate, careless reading" the teacher could stress factual questions until pupils realized that their reading habits had not been precise enough. Building on factual questions, thought questions "cause the children to generalize, to compare, to contrast, to judge, to draw conclusions, to relate the story material to their own experience." (P.48).

The 1960s teachers guides reflected the move to greater and greater support of the teacher. Although features such as professional bibliographies were still common as were reports of reading research (the reporting of some of this research had been relegated to the back of the book) there was a distinct trend to increased 'scripting' of what the teacher was supposed to do and say. Publisher B's 1966 manual went as far as to tell the teacher to "say..." There was also the inclusion of overall program objectives such as those in Publisher B. Under attitudes and appreciations the program was to, for example, foster the love of books and the appreciation of how books enrich our lives and widen our experiences, develop the attitude that reading is thinking. Under good reading habits the program was to strengthen the habit of reading independently for the solution to problems and for pleasure, to think critically about different types of material. Under skills the program was to develop the skill in reading pictorial and graphic materials in textbooks and reference books. In the case of Publisher B 1966 each story was preceded by a story summary, which was an accurate reflection of the story itself and the moral of the

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story. For a story about salmon the teacher was provided with background information about salmon, but otherwise the manual adopted a scripted and prescriptive approach. For example, "Note: As the teacher writes the new words on the chalkboard, she should stand so that the children can see the words develop from left to right, pronouncing the words carefully as she is writing them. Italics are used to indicate the words which are to be written on the chalkboard." (P.77). Once pupils had read several pages of the story the manual told the teacher the questions to ask and answers to expect. Comprehension and study skill exercises following the story all contained material relating to the story. However, phonics exercises only contained a few story related questions. The manual suggested enrichment activities such as field trips and the use of audio-visual materials.

Publisher A's (1965) manual followed a similar pattern as its Publisher B counterpart and also used scripting and very careful step by step instructions for each lesson. Suggestions for independent reading activities were on the level of pupils starting a notebook about their reading interests.

The 1970s teachers manuals were more scripted and more comprehensive than any manuals that had preceded them. In the case of Publisher B's 1976 manual each unit was introduced by an overview but the overview, of necessity became so general and wishy washy as to provide no indication of how the teacher would stimulate student interest in the selections. We were amazed that pupils were asked, for example, to infer and discuss topics of such generality that both the pupils and teachers must have felt it was like trying to make sense out of the unsensible. For example all the characters in the first unit "face challenges, hurdles; all can be related to pupils." "Stress the fact that all problems can't be solved quickly, but that each experience helps a character grow in personal self-awareness." The summaries describing the stories sounded like synopses of soap operas. Questions followed each story and the answers were provided for the teacher. About half of the comprehension exercise questions related to the story, the other half did not.

Publisher A in its 1978 edition most clearly abandoned the features of the earlier manuals. A rigid time schedule was laid out in which 36 skill sequences were to take four days each, 17 bonus selections a total of 23 days and four section checkpoints 8 days (as with the Publisher B manual, testing was a notable feature of the series). Each four day sequence was to consist of the teaching and practice with a skill, applying skills with the reading selection, reteaching and then enriching skills. In most cases all questions were accompanied by answers even if they were totally obvious. A distinction was made between good and poor readers; poor readers were to be interrupted half way through their story and asked (factual questions) about it; they would then be asked a second set of questions at the end of the story. Brighter pupils could read the story all the way through and the questions they were to be asked at the end of it were comprehension-based. Story summaries were often unclear and unsatisfactory. Exercises were often not related to the story selection. It was clear that the writers of this series saw it as a self-contained material; in one exercise on using encyclopedias pupils were to use the textbook illustrations, rather than real encyclopedias that could have been obtained from the library.

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Conclusion

The modern basal teachers guide, as a metaphor of the current perception of the task of teaching reading and the role of the teacher, tells a sorry tale. Although the early teachers manuals were certainly crude and often mirrored the fads of the day especially with their emphasis on oral reading and good posture they emphasized a view of reading that was based on having students **read**. The more pupils read the better, and as teachers guides became more sophisticated extra features and components were added. However, the basic thrust of encouraging pupils to read, to develop a love of reading, to correlate reading with other subject areas, and to stimulate pupil motivation by providing stories that would excite and fire them continued, albeit in more elaborate forms. The manuals of the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s and 1950s provided no scripts. Teachers were expected to make professional decisions about how to teach reading. Few answers to proposed questions were provided, for it was expected that at the very least teachers would know them. The earlier manuals seemed to expect that the teacher would naturally be interested in knowing the philosophy and research underpinning the series; the discussions were extensive, sophisticated and directly applied to the teaching of reading. In contrast, the modern basal contained no such discussion. The teachers got what they got without benefit of any philosophical or research underpinning. It was as if the authors and editors had decided that either teachers would not take the time to read such time consuming and secondary material or that they simply were not up to it. In any event the 1970s basal manuals simply described what was; there was no justification, no rationale, no effort to convince the teacher that the approach underpinning the basal was a sound one. There was the distinct impression that the teacher's opinion didn't really matter and so it was not important that the teacher be convinced about the efficacy of the theory and practice of the basal in question. Instead the front matter of these modern teachers guides assumed that the basals they supported were perfect. If only the teacher would do everything it suggested (no easy task) then his or her pupils would learn to read. Thus, fully implementing the basal reading program in the 1970s was, for the publishers, synonomous with effective reading instruction. And it was a line that administrators fell for when faced with pressure to increase student reading achievement scores.

Although no significant change in the number of story selections included in the fifth grade basal reader was noted what was different was what the pupil was supposed to do after reading these selections. Prior to 1970 each manual we analyzed emphasized the way in which stories and selections had been chosen to fit certain unit themes considered appropriate for pre-adolescents. In the 1940s, for example, manuals noted that it was important for pupils to develop interests and ever more complex concepts. A way of doing this was to select stories for a unit on, for example, animals or travel and communications. As pupils read each story the vocabulary and concepts they learned would build upon previous stories thus developing increasingly sophisticated vocabulary and concepts. It was assumed that such reading would stimulate learning and natural pre-adolesecent

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interests and lead to further reading. Some manuals noted that pupil interests could significantly affect the reading level of students -- a concept notably missing from later manuals, even so-called ensichment readers that were supposed to cater to those students advanced enough to need enrichment.

As an indication of the lessening importance of unifying unit themes the unit titles of basal units became less and less distinct. In the case of Publisher B textbook unit titles changed from the specific to the almost abstract: the selections making up the units were only loosely connected with each other. In the case of Publisher A (1978) unit themes were abandoned and each 'section' consisted of disparate fiction and non-fiction selections. In other cases basals adopted a 'magazine' format that represented the abandonment of related stories and, as the word 'magazine' implied indicated a hodge-podge selecton of fiction and non-fiction selections for each unit or section and could include such diverse stories as a Japanese-American girl's adjustment to a new school, the adventures of an Alaskan dog team and a description of quicksand (and how to get out of it should one be unlucky enough to find oneself in the middle of it). It was a far cry from the theme approach of earlier decades.

Although each section usually included some kind of summary of each story selection there was a qualitative change in the nature of these summaries. Prior to the 1970s, basals' summaries of stories were a combination of summary, commentary and overview. In contrast to the 1970s manuals that tried to summarize the story for the teacher (often unsuccessfully for the story was inevitably distorted) the manuals of preceding decades contained the barest of story summaries and instead related the story to the motivational thread or unit theme. The teacher was supposed to have read the story. And although we find this not an unreasonable assumption it seemed problematic in the case of the teacher who was to use the modern basal reader. By the 1970s the selections seemed to become secondary to the task of fulfilling the activities laid out by the manuals. Surrounding the story selections was an enormous array of activities.

While the number of stories and selections remained the same the number of poems declined precipitously after the 1960s editions. In the case of Publisher B its 1966 text contained 20 poems, the 1976 text contained four poems. The situation was similar for Publisher A texts with the 1965 text containing 21 poems and the 1978 edition containing only six (there was, however, a 1944-1956 hiatus when no poems were included). The earlier manuals stressed the importance of poetry in encouraging the understanding of image, metaphor, meter, vocabulary. Did the disappearance for the most recent texts indicate that poetry was not very important or that the skills that were needed to understand poetry were too complex for students?

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Insert Tables 6 and 7 about here

The instructions, suggestions, activities, lesson plans, and exercises reached their peak in the 1970s teachers guides. The story selection itself appeared quite overshadowed. Thus, there were lesson objectives, vocabulary to be taught, a story summary, warm up activities, suggested questions (with answers) for slow readers, suggested questions (usually drawing upon higher level thinking skills) for brighter students, an exercise on a skill that was being introduced or reinforced (in the majority of cases these exercises did not use the story or its characters for its content), questions were always accompanied by answers even for the most obvious questions, enrichment activities, workbook exercises and so on. Now elements of these program features did appear in earlier teachers guides. However, there was a qualitative and quantitative difference. On the whole there were not as many 'helps' and those that were there assumed that the teacher would have read the story and could answer the questions. Over the decades teachers guides became more complex and more 'helpful.' The 1960s guides seemed to represent a watershed containing elements of the old and the new guide features. Indeed one 1960s guide mentioned that with the common and economic use of ditto machines it was now possible to duplicate exercises instead of writing them on the board and perhaps this had something to do with the expansion of exercises pupils were suppose to complete.

What are we to make of these findings? It seems clear that there has been a metamorphosis in teachers guides. The role of the teacher as reflected in the earlier guides seemed to be one of someone totally in control. But at the same time teaching and reading seemed to be redefined in professional, research based terms. In teachers guides it became important to describe the philosophy and research that underpinned the series. These descriptions were not in any way condescending, they assumed that the teacher was an equal whose professional attitude would automatically mean that he or she would read them. It was also assumed that the teacher would want to refer to the professional bibliography each guide contained and would be eager to collect together a classroom set of stories and books that would stimulate pupils to read more. By the 1960s sections on research and other topics had, in some cases, been moved to the back of the book and were to disappear in the 1970s editions. Similarly, bibiographies disappeared, as did the expectation that pupils should be reading more than what was in their basal. There were no expectations that teachers would collect together a class library of books. By the 1970s there seemed little expectation that teachers would read the story they were to read, before the lesson (hence the story summaries) or that the teacher could bother to figure out the answers to the questions the text posed about the story.

But at the same time teaching reading was a very different activity in the 1970s than it was in earlier decades. The impression we have of the role of the teacher as mirrored by the guide is one of someone who is required to follow the teaching suggestions (actually requirements) in the guide. The effective teacher is one who keeps all pupils busy,

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not at reading activities but rather at supplementary workbook activities that are supposed to contribute to the acquisition and reinforcement of certain discrete skills. The exceptional teacher, it seemed to us, was one who could fully implement the cumbersome management systems designed to track pupils' acquisition of reading skills. And it also seemed to us that this was a terrible waste of the talents of the exceptional teacher.

What we have observed is both the changing definition of reading as mirrored in reading basals and the changing perception of the role and capabilities of the teacher. In many ways the exceptional teacher is trapped by an instructional technology that has designed instructional activities that (supposedly) fit every eventuality. But the bottom line seems to be that the teacher's role is a minor one; if the books are implemented properly then their instructions should be followed. There seemed little room for spontaneity. There seemed little room for reading to occur naturalistically.

Some would argue that the basals and guides we analyzed represented what was demanded by the market and no doubt publishing company market researchers thoroughly polled administrators and teachers to find out what they wanted. Perhaps administrators demanded fool proof, fail proof materials that demonstrably succeeded in teaching the skills which the standardized reading tests use to assess reading achievement. Perhaps teachers complained about the cumbersomeness of the hard cover teachers guide (later changed to a spiral bound soft cover guide -- still as heavy, but less cumbersome) or the need for materials that required minimal preparation time. Perhaps experts were dazzled by the coherence and organization that the reading basal represented. Whatever factors influenced the design of the modern guide, the consequences were severe. For these guides have taken teaching out of teaching, and reading out of learning to read. Perhaps the major priority for the next generation of teachers guides is to expect that teachers are more than mere administrators of a preordained program. If we demand more from our teachers, maybe they will give more and see the materials they use as tools to be used with discrimination.

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Table 1

Reading Basal Teaching Manuals Used for Analysis

Publisher B	Publisher A
1923	1923
1929	
	1933
1937	
	1944
1956	1956
1965	1965
1976	1978

Table 2

Supplementary Materials Listed in Publisher A Manuals

	#Refs for Trs	#Student Lib. Books	#A-V
1923	0	0	0
1933	0	98	0
1944	30	128	0
1956	26	88	31
1965	14	121	0
1978	6	0	0

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Table 3

Supplementary Materials Listed in Publisher B Manuals

	#Refs for Trs	#Student Lib. Books	#A-V
1923	0	0	0
1929			
1937	0	50	0
1956	107	218	43
1966	108	200	122
1976	0	0*	0

* Occasionally titles are mentioned in "background" sections to stories.

Table 4

Unit/Theme Titles for Publisher A

1923	The World of Nature
	Stories in Lighter Vien
	Home and Country
	Stories of Adventure
	Great American Authors
1933	Skyways and Highways
	The Outdoor World
	Stories We Should All Know
	Young American Citizens
	Boys and Girls of Other lands
	Workers and Their Work
	Famous Heroes of Long Ago
	Holidays and Festivals
1944	Young Citizens of Today
	Moving Westward
	Wonders of Today
	Story-Land of Here and Now
	Young Citizens of Other Lands
	The Great Outdoors
	Famous Americans
	Old Tales
1956	Young Citizens of Other Lands
	The Great Outdoors
	Famous People of Other Days
	Old Tales
1965	Thresholds
	Frontiers
	Conquests
	Profiles
	Kaleidoscope
1978	No unit titles; Sections only

Table 5

Unit Themes/Titles for Publisher B

1923	Heroism and Adventure
	School Days
	Boys and Girls
	Wonder and Imagination
	Animals
	Seasons
	Other Countries
	Aeroneutics
	Patriotism
	The World War
	Love of Country
1956	Round About America
	When Roads Led West
	To Make You Laugh
	Gay Days
	Great Old Tales
	Neighbors to the South
	In the Face of Danger
1966	It Could Happen to You
	To Make You Laugh
	Bright Heritage
	Round About North Amierca
	When Roads Led West
	Great Old Tales
	Outer Space - Fun and Fact
	In the Face of Danger
1976	Setting the Pace
	Where Do Stories Come From?
	Everywhere Tales
	When the World Was Young
	Under One Sun

Table 6

Number of Stories and Poems in Publisher A Series

	#Stories	#Poems
1923	27	30
1933	34	19
1944	40	0
1956	32	0
1965	28	21
1978	36	6

Table 7

Number of Stories and Poems in Publisher B Series

	#Stories	#Poems
1923	61	17
1929		
1937	36	13
1956	43	11
1966	41	20
1976	37	4